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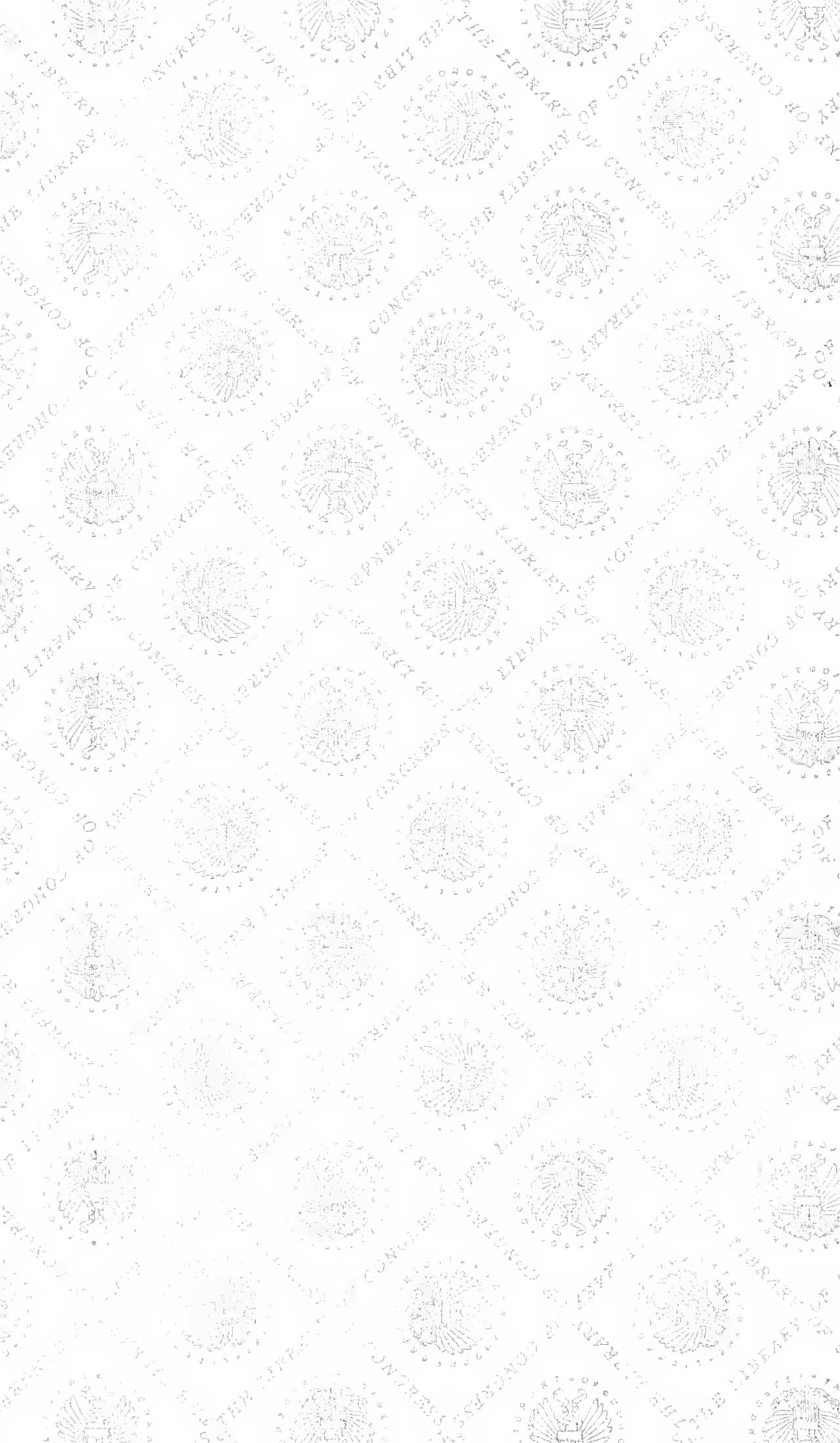
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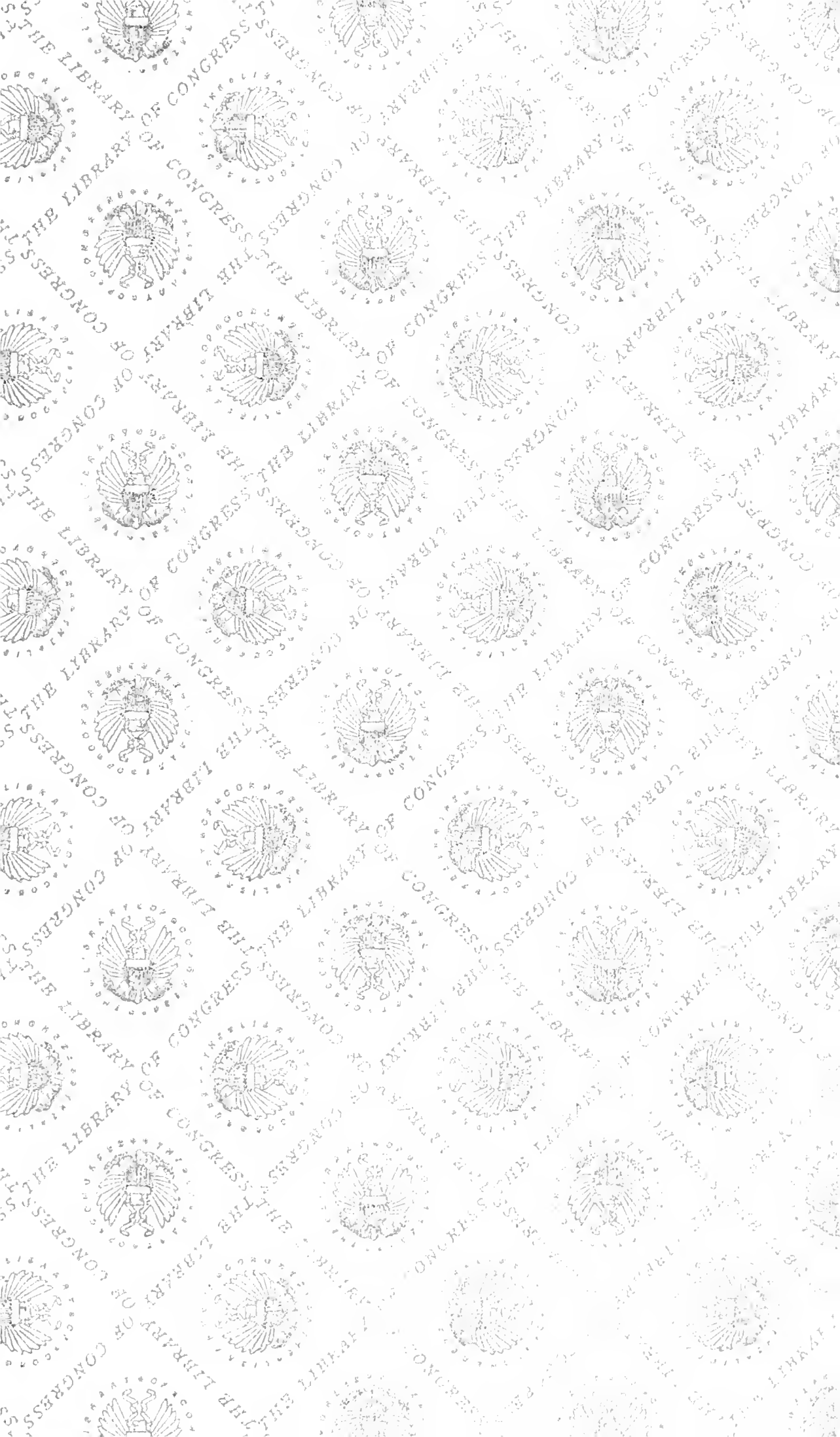
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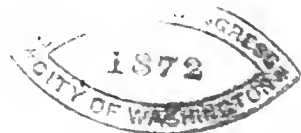


PEACE OFFERING.

BY

W. B. VICTOR.

1860-61.



THE BEGINNING AND THE END.

"The kingdom of heaven is like a man traveling in a far country."

Oh, when shall all be reconciled to God?

When shall all obey and justify the great and perfect ways of God to man, to all created things, past, present, and to come?

There could have been no created life or light; no emotions of love, of joy, or of sorrow; no holy forms divine, of Son, of angels, of Saviour, or of men; but by the perfect works and ways of the perfect and almighty God!

The heaven and the earth were the beginning of the great and perfect system of God. They were composed of all the elements of existence, of action, and of life: from the beginning good, and made in contemplation of every conditional variety of action and result, according to the perfect holiness, the perfect goodness, the perfect love, the perfect philosophy, and all the perfections of the perfect and almighty God!

Nothing has ever been or can become absolutely perfect, but the absolute will of the perfect and almighty God!

From the beginning, the ever-changing actions and conditions of all created things, and all the results of holiness, of bliss, of goodness and of happiness, of sin, of misery, of pain or of agony, have all been the certain results of the perfect creation and the perfect government of the perfect and almighty God!

Oh, who knows what were created and what original things?

Space, boundless space, without beginning and without end, was an original, not a created thing—*nothing but space*.

Space, boundless space, was the home of God, the Spirit and the Father of all created things!

The Spirit of God was with boundless space, and made her His bride!

Original, pure and perfect space the bride, and God the Spirit—Father of all.

The Spirit and the Bride said God!

The Spirit and the Bride were light from the Spirit and the Throne of the ever-living God.

The Spirit and the Bride said come, and God formed the Son, his own express image, and placed him in the house of the Spirit, the Bride, and the throne of the ever-living God.

And the Spirit and the Bride said come!

TO BE CONTINUED.

November, 1860.

PEACE OFFERING.

BY

W. B. VICTOR.

1860-61.

[Published in the Louisville Courier, December 21, 1860.]

A WORD FOR THE UNION.

The great American Union is the growth of our country. Its continuance is the only safety for American society, unless its dissolution shall become a providential necessity. Like the other Governments of the earth, it is the product of time and society, and whatever changes or improvements may be required in its Constitution or laws ought to be made in a peaceable and lawful manner. God save us from the terrible havoc of war! Peace hath her victories much greater than war!

The Constitution and laws, and the legal representatives of the people, are the only authorized agents or modes of doing whatever may be necessary to preserve or improve the union of the States. Let us hope that the border States of the South will remain with their sister border States of the center of the Union; and, should dissolution ever occur, in God's name, let it be done in a manner honorable to all parties. Let the public treasures and properties be fairly and justly divided, and let no individual right be impaired or in any manner injured in any portion of the Union. But let us hope that the Almighty has not commanded the dissolution of the societies and governments he has so intimately and so perfectly blended. It melts the heart in sorrow to think of such an event. It's like bidding the solemn farewell to long and dearly cherished relatives and friends, and all the dear bonds and memories of the past!

From this starting point, from the past and the present, rather let us begin a new future! Let us first consider that our relations should be those of affection and not right; that is the first duty of each and of all, never to invade or violate the rights or wound the feelings of others, either as individuals, States or Governments. Let all patriots claim the continuance of government for protection, not destruction. Let the action of government be confined to constitutional and specific objects. It is the violation of, not compliance with, constitutions and laws, that citizens have the right to complain of.

It is the real, not the imaginary condition of things, that we ought to consider and act upon. While we should always be ready for any emer-

gency, we should never take the final step or strike the fatal blow, until it shall be necessary to preserve, not destroy ! What a terrible thought to leave all the securities, certainties and hopes we have, and embark upon the convulsed bosom of a dark and unknown future ! Consider the probable results of a line of war from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. Let the horrors of Kansas warn us of the dangers ahead ! Let us consider that dissolution and war would endanger the peace of the world—would break up our foreign relations and all the present guarantees of inter-State and international obligations and relations: that refusals, repudiations, and all the uncertain results of a chaotic and convulsed state of society might follow.

For the sake, then, of all the dear affections, obligations, memories and objects of life, let us pause and pray that the Almighty will restore peace, confidence, and harmony in our land ; that in due time the truth, justice and philosophy of the Almighty and all-pervading spirit, will enable us to do whatever will be best for each and for all. Let all dangers and fears thus pass away, and leave us in the security of peace and all the dear affections and objects of life.

The following is suggested as a remedy for impending dangers :

With all deference for those who differ, I must express the belief that we have a better constitution than we could at present obtain by the amendments of three-fourths of the States of the Union. All we want is the faithful maintenance and execution of the Constitution and laws of the Union. The people are tired of confusions, alarms, and terrors. The people do not want the anxieties, delays, and uncertainties of conventions. They want peace, security, and harmony under our present government.

Remember, a house divided can not stand. The Southern States ought not to abandon their sister border States in the hour of trial. Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri are faithful to all their rights, and in the front of danger. Why will the Southern States abandon them? Should sufficient cause occur they will be ready to act. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

Better remain together, and when necessary, in their united strength demand their rights.

Under the Constitution and laws of the Union, slave property is secure in all the slaveholding States, Territories, and Districts of the Union, and fugitives must be returned.

The South only want, and in any event can only obtain, security of these rights ; when any of these rights are violated, let the injured complain, and let the Government of the United States, in all its departments, maintain and execute the Constitution and the laws of the Union. Thus would peace, confidence, and harmony be restored, and thus would be secure the rights of each and of all.

Let us entreat the Southern States to confine their action in relation to the Union to a declaration of rights. If every man and woman in America would make a declaration of peace and carry it out, by the pursuit of truth, justice and philosophy, the true and divine Government would prevail, each and all would rest safe and secure in the possession and pursuit of their rights and all the high objects of life. The *real wants*

of individuals and societies would be developed and provided for, in due time, and in the proper manner. To doubt this is to doubt the perfect laws, powers and goodness of the Creator and Supreme Ruler of all. War has always been the result of a violation of His laws, either from error, haste or evil design. The people of America are now especially called upon to pause, consider this great question, and act according to the high and vital demands and duties of peace, and all the relations and obligations that have interwoven and bound them together. No force should be used—no Constitution or law violated in any portion of the Union; all obligations and duties should be complied with, and all the blessings of peace, harmony and prosperity would, in any event, be enjoyed.

[Published in the Kentucky Yeoman, Jan. 5, 1861.]

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The government of the United States is a Federal Government.

It exists by virtue of the powers and authorities expressly written and granted by the people of the several States, in and with the Constitution of the United States. All its powers have thus been expressly granted and conferred by the people of the several States, in, with, and by the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

To the extent that powers have thus been granted to the government of the United States, the powers of the government are sovereign, complete and supreme.

In all cases of conflict, with the Constitution, laws, or officers of the government, with any of the people or States of the Union, the Supreme Court of the United States has final jurisdiction and supreme authority.

The rights and relations of the persons and the States of the Union, have thus been made rights and relations of law, and all conflicts or disputes have thus been made questions of law.

The Federal Government was formed and has been adopted by the people who have severally composed equal, several independent and sovereign States. Its action, during its continuance, is directly upon the persons of the United States, and the sovereignty of the government is complete, to the extent of its constitutional powers, over the people and over the States, that have composed, constituted, adopted, supported and preserved it.

The people who composed the several States that formed and have adopted the Constitution, and have supported the government, have thus subjected themselves to its government, as individuals, officers, States and territories of the government; and they are all equally and fully entitled to the constitutional protection of all their rights in every portion of the government.

The government of the United States has thus been thoroughly and perfectly blended with the people and with the States of the Union, each being specific and general, within their constitutional and ap-

pointed spheres of action ; each having been formed and constituted for personal, mutual, and the general good.

Should the powers of the Federal Government be perverted and abused—should powers not granted be usurped by its officers, to the great danger or injury of the persons, rights and powers, of the people of the States that have adopted and supported the government, have they not a lawful remedy? Have they not the reserved and inalienable right, when greatly endangered or injured, to adopt such measures or such government as they deem necessary for their defense, their preservation, their safety, their prosperity, their happiness?

The right of defense and of preservation against unlawful attacks or violations of rights, is the first and inalienable right of individuals, of States, and of governments. It begins in childhood, and continues with the persons, States and governments of the earth. All the rights and relations of persons and of governments are questions of law.

The rights and relations of the persons, the peoples, the citizens, and the States of the Federal Government are peculiar to our own country. The government was formed and adopted by the people of the States, as several or separate States. When thus united, they became one people, to the extent of their constitutional and lawful Union and communion.

The Federal Government thus pledged all its powers to give constitutional protection to all personal, common and vested rights and privileges under its government.

When the rights of the people of any of the States of the Union are in danger, have they not the right to make all necessary preparation for their preservation and defense?

They have adopted the Constitution as individuals and as several States. So likewise when in danger, they have the reserved and inalienable right, as several or united States, to prepare for defense, for protection, and for preservation.

When the officers of the Federal Government, in violation of the Constitution or laws of the Union, or in the exercise of powers not granted, exclude the people of any of the States from their common or vested rights; when they attack or violate those rights, the people of the several States have the reserved and inalienable right to repeal their adoption of the Constitution of the United States, and resume their original right of self-preservation and self-defense.

Suppose, when a large majority of slaveholding States constituted the Union, the government of the United States had established slavery in the State of Massachusetts, in violation of the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of Massachusetts, what would have been, or what would now be, the right of Massachusetts? The right to repeal her adoption of the Constitution, and sever her connection with the Government.

Suppose, likewise, a large majority of non-slaveholding States constituting the Union, should pass and attempt to enforce laws abolishing any of the vested rights of the people of the slave-holding States, in violation to the Constitution of the Union and of the States, the slaveholding State or States would have the same right to sever their connection with the Government.

This proves the existence of the right. It is a right in abeyance; a reserved right that springs into life an action whenever the occasion demands it.

It is in this that the Federal Government differs from the Government of single States, kingdoms, or monarchies.

In all governments where there is but one law-making power, the government is sole, single, sovereign, and supreme according to its own peculiar, sovereign, constitutional powers, and modes of action. But the Government of the United States is like an empire; united by express and specific constitutional bonds of union and grants of power; and like all other bonds of union between the persons, nations, States, kingdoms, and empires of the earth, the rights of all should be lawfully and peaceably preserved, and their bonds of union should be made more perfect.

The Government of the United States has not been dissolved. Many of the States have interrupted the action of the Government, and the laws of Congress have often been resisted, and their execution prevented. The Government should peaceably and lawfully continue, each officer performing his official duties, until the healthy, constitutional reaction of society, the spirit and the providence of God will have plainly manifested the rights, the duties, and the relations of the States!

All unworthy ambition should be discarded as far below the demands and duties of the times.

The great living and moving spirit, and the great bodies of American societies, of Christian, patriotic, and philanthropic America, if not excited and perverted, will in due time clearly see and regulate their true relations, and they will faithfully comply with all the great obligations, principles, and duties that should govern the conduct of all honest, faithful, and Christian persons—citizens, societies, communities, nations, and governments of earth!

Published in the Cynthiana News, January, 1861.

WHAT'S BEST TO BE DONE?

"Cans't thou pluck from the mind a rooted evil, raze out written troubles from the brain, and with some sweet oblivious antidote cleanse the stuffed bosom of that perilous stuff that weighs upon the heart?"

Truths and facts always act harmoniously together.

True principles and measures always act truly together.

The past and the present are the premises, the laws and the principles that indicate the only safe and the only hopeful future.

It is always our duty to discard the evils and improve the deficiencies of the past, in pursuit of the still better future.

However perfect our laws, principles or theories, if we fail to carry them into corresponding and co-operating measures, if we pervert the powers and the blessings, we thus turn them into conflicts and confusion, into wars, judgments and curses.

All things are cumulative.

It is the perversion of powers and of actions in wrong directions, from improper motives, in view of unworthy objects, that bring all the evils, the dangers, the conflicts, and the sufferings of the world.

To what shall we first apply these great truths in this trying and struggling condition of our country?

Our country is in a conflict. It has been in conflict for many years past, over one of the great and vital questions of American society.

The two great sections are in conflict upon the question of African slavery; the right, the tenure or the bonds, by which servants are held to service.

Where does this conflict begin? It begins in the minds and the hearts of men.

It has chiefly manifested, and arrayed itself, in the two great sections of the Union.

A large majority of the people of one section of the Union have been, and now are, opposed to the institution of African slavery. They have generally voted and intended to vote, simply their opposition, their Constitutional opposition to the extension and perpetuation of African slavery, because they have believed it to be wrong.

A large majority of the other section have voted for the maintenance, protection, and extension of slavery, because they have believed it to be right and the best that could be done.

This shows a radical difference of real and of honest opinion.

How shall it be adjusted? First what is it?

It is a difference of opinion upon a question of original right; secondly, of State, of national and of common territorial right. A difference of opinion among persons, families, neighborhoods, and States of the Union. How shall it be settled? By the sword? Great God! shall families, brothers and sisters, parents and children, commence, riot, or revel in the fiendish war? or shall they appeal to law, to country and to God? Time—give us time! We have long been too much confused and excited. Give us time to right ourselves! to regain a better state of mind, to understand our rights and our duties! Let us live together peaceably, if we can, but if we cannot, let us separate in peace.

When Abraham and Lot could no longer agree, they divided their flocks and took separate roads.

But our history, our relations, our rights, and all our most tangible prospects and hopes, admonish and advise us to separate, never, never, until it shall be in accordance with the will or decree of the Almighty Creator and Preserver of all that is good.

Our history and the structure of our government prove it to be divine—prove that all of it that is wise and good is divine. Our relations likewise: Therefore, stop the war! Stop the war of force! Let it be if it must be, a conflict of opinion, of authorities, and of laws, until the Supreme Almighty laws of truth, of justice and of right, shall in the rightful and constitutional modes adjust and maintain the rights and the relations of persons, of citizens, and of States.

But how shall this great conflict be settled? We have been waiting

for measures. Principles we have. We want measures. We want something to look to—some definite and tangible future. We want to know whether we are to have peace or war, security or danger, whether we are to educate our children for peace or for war; for virtue or crime; for Christian and religious civilization or for the conflict of arms—for the conflicts and crimes of war, God forbid!

We want to understand all the great rights of persons, of citizens, and of States, so that we may know what to do, what to depend upon, what to look to, how to shape our pursuits, our motives and our ends. We want as plain and definite a future as we can get. We want to see it as plainly as we can see and feel it, from all the lights given to us by the great sources of light, of life, of power and of knowledge!

Here we are, a great people, radically divided in opinion upon a great and vital question of right and of policy, correspondingly and territorially divided upon the same great question.

First, our relations have always been of peace, and should so continue.

Secondly, shall this great question be settled upon the basis of right, of principle, of reason, and by the rightful powers, or shall it be settled upon the basis of physical equalities, areas and forces.

I am for its adjustment by the everlasting laws of right—not of physical equalities or by physical forces.

I am for adjusting all great questions of right and necessity upon such basis and by such principles as will make the lawful rights of a child—of the poor orphan child, as sacred and secure as the lawful rights of the great, the rich, or the giants of the earth.

Let the injured complain. Make the true issues before the rightful tribunals, and make preparations if you will.

Eradicate error and evil from our minds!

Prevent the beginning of wrong and the necessity for force!

Maintain the officers of the government in the discharge of their official duties!

Maintain the right of the people of the States and of the territories to establish and regulate by their own constitutional action, all the rights and privileges of government. Let this be done by the rightful and voluntary action of the individuals, States and territorial—States of the government.

But shall a line be established north of which African slavery shall be prohibited and south of which, slavery shall be protected.

Such a measure might give temporary peace, if it were or could be adopted.

First, is it likely that such a measure would meet the sanction and the votes of those who are radically opposed to the institution of slavery?

I think not. I think they would greatly prefer to acquiesce in the decision of the Supreme, Constitutional Court of the United States, and thus acquiesce in the existence and protection of all the lawful rights of African Slavery, rather than to vote for it and thus give it their personal sanction, as an original and primary question.

I believe they would acquiesce, but would not vote for the extension

of slavery : Further, if the line proposed should be run to the Pacific Coast, providing for the future acquisition of territories—would it not propose a physical equality of territorial areas? Would it not be based upon and look to physical forces as the balancing powers of the Government? Would it not look to the acquisition of Mexico, Central America, and Canada?

I think it would. And I think it would in a short time, renew the same old war, at home and abroad.

Rather than begin such a line of policy—of dangerous, perhaps of fatal policy, had we not better look around us, cultivate improve and educate what we have.

Had we not better, first attend to our own business claim only our own *rights* and let *others* alone?

For a long time to come if the present Union continue we have territory enough!

We must not forget, we are not the only people of power of the earth.

We have vast domains, of uninhabited lands, vast regions of sparsely settled countries, all wanting population, schools, churches, roads, and all the institutions of society.

We have a vast country, rich in all resources for comfort, for happiness, and for greatness.

We have a system of Government granting and guaranteeing, the vast and the greatest achievements of mind and society.

Shall we not look to the cultivation, the improvement, and development of what we have, rather than begin the reckless, avaricious and ambitious old war of unwanted conquest, or of robbery for wealth and for power.

Our system of Government is based upon and has grown with the Bible and the testament. It looks to the continual improvement, cultivation, education, and elevation of each and all its component parts.

It has grown up, has been founded upon, constructed, established, and maintained, with and upon the great principle of voluntary, elective action, and the great reliance upon the capacity of our people, of each state and territory of the government, to establish, maintain, and enjoy all rights of life and of action, of persons and of property, each and all subject to the constitutional government of the United States.

In possession of such providential blessings and gifts, shall we look to their use and enjoyment, or shall we look to the forcible and wrongful acquisition and deprivation of the possessions and the rights of others?

England wants Canada for her own surplus population.

Spain—Ferdinand and Isabella Spain—wants Cuba for her own surplus population.

The European people want the right to go to Mexico, Central America, South America. They have the right to room enough to live in. All come from there. Each and all should come and go according to the great laws of God and of man!

Let us pause and remember that the people of those countries, present and to come, want to maintain and establish laws and institutions

for themselves. In so doing, they will have the right to all lawful protection.

In considering this great question, we must always remember the origin, mixture, and the destiny of races and of classes.

We must not stultify ourselves. We say our fathers had no right to bind us irrevocably through all future time; that when the government established by them fails of its object, or its powers are perverted, we have the lawful right to amend or to change it in a lawful manner. Just so with the citizens of the Union. We have no right to adopt and begin a system of measures that would propose to bind our posterity forever, that would most probably renew the old war, and involve them in all the convulsions, and probably much greater disasters than now threaten us.

We have no right to look further into future events, than facts, reason and revelation allow us to look.

We have the right to security, to peace, and to the lawful protection and enjoyment of all we have: but we must not attempt to engross the continent. We have no right to regulate all future time.

Let the great laws of God and of man act harmoniously together, and, in time, they will consummate the work. From the centers to the circumference, let societies intermingle and expand with all the riches and blessings of the Christian civilization, the true religion and the philosophy of God!

Thus, the real wants of persons and societies would be developed and supplied, by the elements and the actions of its component parts.

Thus, societies are self-regulating and self-providing bodies; separate, yet united by the spirit, the laws, and the bonds; by the ties, the links and memorials; by the pure affections, by the all-pervading spirit, by the spirit of regeneration, by sympathies and riches divine.

Under the constitution and laws of our country, and the laws of God, we have the right to the peaceable enjoyment and protection of all our rights, of persons and of property, and we have territory enough for a long time to come—perhaps for ever—if the Union continue.

When a surplus of population, of any class or color, shall have come, the natural and true regulation and migration, for all the true and proper objects and enjoyments of life, of persons, of societies and of governments, will most surely follow.

We must remember that rapidly increasing numbers, uncongenial mixtures and unworthy combinations, have already greatly endangered our safety, broken up our happiness, and threatened our ruin.

We do not want to reproduce the strifes, the horrors, or the sufferings of dark old time. We want peace, security, and room enough. We must preserve our original ancestral character, the true spirit and objects of our government, our mission, our destiny, and all our hopes for a brighter and a more glorious future.

We must remember that measures, principles, and feelings must agree, or discontent, strife and war will follow. Suppose we have a dividing line, one party, sooner or later, would want Mexico for slavery, but the other would oppose. If acquired, in part or in all, with it,

different elements and mixtures of population and societies, it would make and increase strifes and conflicts with our peoples and governments—slavery, tariffs, banks, and many other questions of strife and conflict would be increased.

At present we have territory enough—perhaps forever.

Together peaceably if we can, separate peaceably if we must.

Non-intervention among the Christian and civilized nations and governments of the earth; except to protect the weak against the injuries and oppressions of the strong.

The protection of the cross; the right and the privilege of voluntary obedience and worship to God!

Published in the Kentucky Yeoman, Jan. 23d, 1861.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL LINE.

The line of 36 deg. 30 min., or any just and practicable line running through the Territory of the United States to the Pacific Ocean, permitting and protecting African slavery South, should be expressly confined and limited to Territory now belonging to the Union.

Such a line, if desired by the people, would not be objected to by me. If properly presented, I would support it as a constitutional amendment.

Should the whole Union continue, this would leave the question of future acquisition of territory with the people and the government of the United States, the establishment and regulation of the institutions therein, South and North, upon the same true and equal constitutional right.

This line of protection was suggested to satisfy the South. The North don't need the prohibition. They are entitled to all the rights with which the territories were acquired, and they are capable, when they form their State Constitutions, to establish and regulate, each State for itself, its own domestic State institutions.

If the Northern people want the prohibition line North, let them bring it forward. The propositions suggested by me from the beginning, are equally applicable to the entire or a portion of the United States, under the Constitution of our country.

The plan of adjustment heretofore advocated by me contemplated the following results, from the present premises. Our government, on many accounts, perhaps on all, is large enough. A larger government would increase the diversity of interests, the number of ambitious men, and would greatly diminish individuality of character.

If the future shall demand the acquisition of territory let it then be made.

The great mission and object of government is to protect, educate, and improve all—physical, mental, moral, and religious. Government is borrowed from Heaven; it has been given by the Almighty, and it must be used according to all the great laws and objects for which it was given.

Our system of government is peculiar. It is *elective*, and if properly conducted, not only *relieves*, but strengthens all well conducted kingdoms, monarchies, and governments of the globe. Perhaps it is the gathering together of the *elective* families !

It should never lose sight of its origin or its mission—the improvement, cultivation, elevation, and Christianization of our people. If we could be content with its present extent of territory, and the pursuit of these great chief constitutional objects, its future and its mission would be most certain and most promising—the most hopeful future for all classes and races. When a dense population shall have come, the migration of the surplus would have the *double* effect of relieving the old and of benefitting the new countries. This perpetual process of education, improvement, and migration, would in time raise our population to the highest degree of cultivation, of development, and of happiness ; it would spread its influence and population over the continent, and over the globe without attacking or unlawfully interfering with the rights of others.

This is the most certain and the most hopeful future that I can see !

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

In all territory now belonging to the United States, or in all that may hereafter be acquired, all the rights of African servitude, as heretofore and now existing in and among a portion of the States of the Union, shall be protected ; but nothing herein shall be construed to be in favor of or against the future acquisition of territory or of a State : it defines only the law.

February 5, 1861.

All debts and obligations, all rights of property between and among the citizens and persons of the different States ; all treaties, obligations, and debts with foreign persons and powers have been made and contracted under all the guarantees of the Federal Government: Under the express declaration of the Constitution of the United States, that no ex post facto law or law impairing the obligation of contracts should be passed.

The Federal Government is bound to maintain these provisions of the Constitution ; bound by all the obligations of office and of justice. A sudden disseverance of the Government would leave all personal security and rights of property in the power of the dissevered States or fragments of the government ; or with the unbridled power of personal combinations ; mobs, repudiations and confiscations murder, robbery, and the ruin of individuals and families might follow.

Government was made to protect personal rights, and any change of our system of government should be made under all the constitutional guarantees for the satisfaction or security of all personal and all vested rights.

FRANKFORT, Feb. 7, 1861.

The great question is still unsettled !

The Union has been partially dissevered !

What's best to be done ?

What shall the officers of the Government do ?

Each perform his duties; so long as he holds his office.

Let proclamation be made by the proper authorities, that all personal security, all personal and vested rights, that have existed under the federal government, must and shall be protected and maintained.

God forbid that our age and country shall be outraged and disgraced by fiendish forces and violations of personal and vested rights.

Let the injured complain and the guilty shall be punished !

The protection of persons and of rights is the first great question of moment. !

Next the destiny of our country !

This great and vital question will regain time !

In order to act safely we must look closely and truthfully into this great question, and all its relations !

All personal, internal and vested rights protected and secured, our next relations are abroad !

We have foreign relations and obligations of the highest order !

We must observe their rights and ascertain their demands !

Neither our government nor our people can safely act without a knowledge of all the great facts and relations affecting them.

All falsehood and duplicity, leading to dangers and crimes, is worthy only of the severest chastisement and the deepest infamy through all future time !

Let each State and government candidly and truthfully make known what is required for its safety, its rights and its pursuit of happiness.

If the constitution of the Union must be amended or reconstructed, let it be done in a peaceful and lawful manner, and in the mean time give protection to each and to all, but by no means ask for the dangerous right of African transit through or across the non-slaveholding States. Confine all constitutional amendments or provisions to our country. Should new territories be acquired under the constitutional government, they will of course be subject in all respects, as a matter of law, to the constitutional provisions.

The true structure and nature of the constitution of a government should not be marred by interpolations, for the government of countries foreign to us. Let us not declare by constitutional provision that we wish or intend to acquire and govern countries not ours. Such a provision or declaration adopted, the acquisition party might prematurely demand the acquisition desired by them, and refer to the constitutional provision as evidence; that the constitution was accepted with the express understanding, that the acquisition should be made.

A refusal by the government or the people to acquire the territory desired, might be made a new ground for another dissolution ; because of this alledged violation of the constitutional provision. Yet there should be no prohibition to the acquisition of territory; there may be

portions of country desirable and important, to be acquired at the proper time. If the government should be reconstructed, or a new government formed, of course all the States that accept it, will be members of the Union.

The Constitution should clearly define the paramount laws. Those laws will govern exactly alike all present and all future possessions; without any declaration of future application.

All legislative powers should be clearly expressed; all legislative proceeding of Congress should be clearly confined to the constitutional jurisdiction of legislative proceedings and powers.

Whatever powers are conferred upon the government should be just, equitable, perfect, complete and supreme!

Thus the union of the States might be most safely, most prosperously, and most happily continued or amended through all future time!

Thus we have a safe, a certain, and a hopeful future!

Shall it be blighted and blasted?

Shall all be wrecked by the thunderstorm of war? Oh no!

Rather let us hold our wrath! Even desperately withhold a resort to force! Look to results! look to blighted fields, pastures, and homes; villages, towns and cities—prospects, families, widows and orphans. Hear the cries of agony! The long, long sufferings of sorrow and grief!

Through long, long years, perhaps ages of suffering and wo, listen at the sobs, perhaps the hereditary sufferings, and wailings of grief, of agony and pain; of families, States, governments and countries wrecked, shattered, blighted, mangled and desolated by war, suffering and crime! Even in the far, far distant future, they sound like the moaning surges of the surf, upon desolated coasts; of fleets, countries and cities, wrecked by the mighty convulsions of nature; made piteous and desolate by time—the melancholy, suffering memorials and remains of all they had been!

Shall we behold such a wreck, and hear the cries and agonies of death, or shall such be our own fatal and eternal doom, and shall we too feel the deep damnation of remorse over the great and mighty deed of crime? Oh, no! God forbid! Let each and all proclaim peace!

Peace on earth, good will toward men!

FRANKFORT, KY., *Feb.* 13, 1861.

MARCH 25. 1861.

WRITINGS OF W. B. VICTOR.

Life and Events.

The Two Pacifics.

Thoughts on the Creation and Destiny of Man.

The Creation : Origin and Punishment of Sin.

The Appendix.

The Past, the Present, and the Future.

Peace Offering!

I have not written any thing else upon political subjects that has not been published in Kentucky papers, and nothing personal, except to my own family.

I make this statement to repudiate frauds and forgeries.

W. B. VICTOR

February 16, 1860.



